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∞ infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Satumalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171]

2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

1: Berque--439 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shiuh MW11

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ[c], for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

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792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes [794] at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the igʷrramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

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538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" -- [534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets. [533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding